May, 1956

New South

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THE ROLE OF BUSINESS LEADERS

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RESISTANCE DEPARTMENT

EDUCATION STANDARDS

Tilman C. Cothran

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New South

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New South NOTES

New South this month is a potpourri of happenings and prognostications on the segregation front in the South. Three full-length articles are devoted to segregation and its various aspects in Southern life and education.

Again, *New South* presents the economic picture and the threat that deep South resistance is bringing to industry. A recent address by Opie L. Shelton, executive vice president of the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Chamber of Commerce, tells of the threat to Southern industrial progress in the present trend of events and challenges business leaders to help work out the best way to solve the problem.

Warren E. Gauerke, associate professor of education at Emory University, writes of what is likely to happen to Georgia's private school plan if and when it is implemented. The noted educator relates why he thinks the state circumvention plan will fail, both in practice and under legal attack.

The third article, by Tilman C. Cothran of the Department of Sociology, Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, delves into integration and educational standards. Dr. Cothran tells why integration is not likely to downgrade present educational standards.

Rounding out the issue is an editorial on the recent intrastate bus ruling by the Supreme Court and a new section, the Department of Diehard Resistance. The latter will be presented from time to time with appropriate division titles. This month's department is devoted to the "We're Different" Division.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

BUS SEGREGATION ON WAY OUT

Although the recent Supreme Court action on the South Carolina case does not in itself strike down segregation in intrastate transportation, the legal background of the case clearly indicates that it is only a matter of time until such a ruling is forthcoming.

The history of the case is as follows:

A Negro woman sued the Columbia, S. C., bus company for damages because a bus driver required her to change her seat in accordance with South Carolina's segregation law. The United States District Court where the action was brought dismissed the case on the ground that the state statute was valid under the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*.

On appeal, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals said, "We do not think that the separate but equal doctrine of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* . . . can any longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law. That case recognizes segregation of the races by common carriers as being governed by the same principles as segregation in the public schools; and the recent decisions . . . which relate to public schools, leave no doubt that the separate but equal doctrine approved in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* has been repudiated. . . . The decision . . . will be reversed and the case will be remanded for further proceedings *not inconsistent herewith.*"

Since the Supreme Court refused to upset this ruling, it now only remains for the District Court to apply it. And the District Court already has been ordered to proceed with the case in a manner *not inconsistent* with the Supreme Court school cases. The implication is clear — bus segregation by law is on the way out.

Regardless of the immediate decision, many bus companies see the handwriting on the wall and are doing away with segregated facilities. A dozen cities, including Norfolk, Winston-Salem, and Knoxville, have ended segregated bus facilities.

Clearly, the history of the South Carolina case signified that enforced segregation on intrastate bus transportation will be banned in all subsequent legal cases. All that remains is for local bus companies to comply. This compliance will eventually come. Whether it comes through sensible, voluntary procedures or through inevitable court rulings is up to bus company and/or state and local officials.

In Montgomery, Alabama, bus company officials have declared an end to segregated facilities; but Montgomery City officials are fighting the decision and refusing to ease an intolerable situation when it is in their power to do so. City officials surely know that the pending court case concerning Montgomery busses will be in keeping with the Supreme Court school decision.

How wise the city fathers would be to relieve the situation through their own good will now rather than have the situation remedied despite their futile efforts at evasion which can only further divide the community.

The Role of Business Leaders

By OPIE L. SHELTON

Traditionally, this subject of the place of the Chamber of Commerce in the field of education has concerned itself with B-E Days, E-B Days, Career Opportunity Days, Teacher Welcomes and all of the dozens of worthwhile programs such as you and I have been helping to sponsor over the years. We took our cue from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which, in my opinion, has done more to encourage an interest in our educational processes than has any other single American group.

All of our efforts have placed an important role in helping to stimulate better education in the various communities we serve.

The basic justification for most of our efforts in the field of education has been the economics involved. We proved to ourselves that good education is good business. And since a chamber's prime purpose is the strengthening of the economy of the area it serves, education has occupied a leading position on most chamber's program of work.

But the Supreme Court's decision concerning the integration of our schools may have knocked our time-honored programs into a cocked hat.

Fifteen years ago no one would have thought of picking up a magazine or a newspaper and reading a mention of syphilis or gonorrhea. Talk of such things just wasn't proper. To much the same degree we in chambers of commerce over the South have avoided any mention of the words segregation or integration.

We may as well meet the subject head on. The South faces a crisis such as it has not met in its lifetime. Paramount in this complex situation are our schools. The question: where do we go from here?

Leave the sociological aspects of this situation to the trained sociologist and anthropologist. We are not qualified in that field. Let's explore for a few minutes, however, the economic aspects which are presented.

Over the years we have described our job as being one of creating new dollars for our community, with no particular interest in who were the principal beneficiaries. We have said that our job was that of upgrading the economic level of all of the people of our area in which we labored. And, for the most part, we have been successful in our efforts.

Incidents already left in the wake of the Supreme Court decision make it crystal-clear that it is the business man of the South, such as you and I represent, who is to be the one caught in the economic squeeze that threatens.

Already there have been cases of boycott, Negro against white, white against Negro, and even white against white. Falstaff beer lost a large part of its business in Mississippi when it was publicized that in April of 1954, before the Supreme Court decision, Falstaff bought a $500 life membership in the

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NAACP for one of its Negro salesmen in St. Louis. A similar boycott hit Philip Morris cigarettes because of that company's purported assistance to interracial causes. Ford Motor Company has felt the heat. Ford's offense, in the eyes of many Southerners, is its indirect contribution through the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic to interracial groups. Hart's Bakeries, of Memphis, suffered a 6% to 10% loss of business when an anti-integration group accused the company of donating $50,000 to the NAACP. The bakery denied the accusation, but the harm was already done.

One Coca-Cola bottler is being boycotted by Negroes because of his refusal to service a Negro retailer while the whites of the same community are urging a boycott of the same firm because Coca-Cola employs Negroes in its TV programs and advertising. The boycott of the Montgomery bus system by Negroes is one of the most publicized of the current boycotts. A similar boycott in my own city of Baton Rouge some three years ago all but broke the back of our bus company.

It may be true that these are but isolated incidents. But what guarantee does your local business man member have that the malignancy won't spread and that eventually he too will become a victim? He may not be saying this out loud, but naturally he is apprehensive.

Extremists on both sides have been those most quoted in the press during all of this internecine warfare. It is rare that a calm voice has emerged from the turmoil. Because this is a subject which reaches deep into the hearts and minds of men and because it appears to be so absolutely devoid of solution, it isn't easy to interject dispassionate thinking.

But think we must. Failure to find a solution to the present chaos presents alternatives which threaten our very future. Failure of solution can bring about such catastrophic events as the very abandonment of our public school system. Failure could even lead to bitter bloodshed and economic collapse.

So why pretend any longer that we can merely continue to stage an occasional B-E Day or an E-B Day and thereby discharge our responsibility to our educational systems? The tempo of present day events demands that, distasteful though it may be, we look and look well for the best possible solution to the present and omnipresent turmoil.

When any other matter of extreme importance faces our community to whom do we turn for counsel and advice? Why, to the best thought leaders of our community, of course. To the type of men who make up your board of directors and mine. It is they who are always charged with coming up with a solution to the many vexing problems which beset community life. Why, then, should he now have them abdicate their community responsibility because of the explosiveness of this problem?

It is my sincere belief that the greatest single contribution we who serve Southern Chambers of Commerce can make is to work at the individual community level to help ameliorate a situation which so far has been pretty well left up to the extremists of both sides.

I say on the local level because it is obvious that the same solution doesn't pertain to any two cities. That which will work in Baton Rouge would probably never serve as a guide in Greenville, Mississippi. Nor would the Greenville solution serve as a model for any

(Continued on Page 12)

The Future of Georgia's Private Schools

By WARREN E. GAUERKE

At noon on Monday, November 13, 1961, there was no longer need to speculate about ways of keeping alive the private schools that received tax funds from the state. The Court unanimously ruled that such schools, established in two counties in 1958 to "get around" the segregation decree, were not private schools but merely substitute public schools.

The court made it clear that all such private schools in Georgia that used tax funds were no longer free to adopt admission policies that conflicted with the law. It became clear that the premise upon which the "private school" idea had rested was incorrect. The attorney general assured TV and radio audiences the evening of the decision that the court order did not mean that boards that had been operating private schools would be on the verge of mixing the races in the schools.

The first three points of error of the appellants asserted that the trial court should have granted the injunction to restrain the various defendants from certifying, paying, and expanding public tax funds to "private corporations" that were admitting Negro pupils. In the decree the Court said that "all provisions of state and local law requiring or permitting discrimination in such schools must yield to this order."

The decision contained "ground rules" which the high court felt would guide the lower tribunals to carry out the decree. Three years before the court had stated in a unanimous ruling that Negroes must be permitted to attend schools nearest their homes. At the time, little was said or done about compliance. Members of the Georgiatown Board of Education had been forced by the court to rescind their order commanding Negro pupils to attend the school assigned to them. In the "private school" cases, the court specifically stated that plans for compliance were to come from school authorities within three months for ending discriminatory practices. Such plans were to be handed to lower courts for study. If no plans were submitted, the court would then order immediate desegregation in all state-financed schools, to be effective at the opening of the following school term. The lower courts were to hold hearings to test the feasibility of the plans. Progress reports were to be prepared and submitted by the lower courts to the Supreme Court.

The Earlier Decision in Georgia

The decision of 1958 had made applicable to Georgiatown Schools the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public

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schools. As a result, the state of Georgia put into motion within that county its machinery for converting the county public schools into private schools .It saw to it that education would go on at public expense but in "properly supervised free and private segregated schools."

On October 26, 1958, the state of Georgia filed suit to prevent the Georgiatown School Board from spending any tax money for the operation of mixed schools. Judge Middleton of the Merryweather circuit had issued a temporary injunction and had scheduled a hearing for November 16th. At the time, citizens close to the problem seemed certain that state laws upholding segregation in public schools could not be made to stand in the light of developments since 1954.

The "Private School" Plans

When the full impact of the earlier decision was realized, local politicians were quick to urge that the "private school" plan, in some form, be adopted quickly. The only thing that was envisioned in the event of such an adverse decision was to sell the schools in the affected areas to individuals or groups who would then make their own rules as to who could attend.

Provisions for a "tuition grant" private system of schools had been laid by adoption of Amendment Four to the Georgia Constitution in November, 1954. Under subsequent legislation, each community was left to its own devices for education without any special aid from the state itself. There was, admittedly, a small amount of state participation once the plan began to function. This consisted of the payment of a fixed lump sum for the tuition of any child attending the private corporation's school. To avoid "state activity," Georgia was careful to do no more than to aid in the financial support of the pupils. The creation of the private schools, their maintenance, and their supervision were not direct concerns of the state as such.

Little thought had been given to whether the proposals for such schools could withstand constitutional attack. There seemed to be quite general agreement that the courts would have no control over schools of parents' choices and would not be able to interfere with them. Their feeling of security was based partly upon the theory that the private school could not be subjected to the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Confidence was bred of the notion that the "tuition" school provided for a total absence of state regulation and their operation could not involve "state action." After all, went the argument of these practical Georgians, the state would not be using its judicial power to coerce private persons to exclude Negroes from such schools. At most, the state would be using legislative and executive powers to enable some to get done what the state was legally prohibited from doing.

The high court answered the many questions puzzling citizens who were looking for a way out. Yes, the payment of "grants" by the state to private persons to finance their education in private establishments constituted spending tax revenues for a "public purpose." The court did approach the legality of the laws supporting "free private schools" with the assumption that such a school receiving state aid indirectly was but an attempt to conduct public schools under private management. There could actually be no private school that served a basic state function. Such an essential service could not be given away. Was not the protection which the local school district enjoyed from suit for liability in tort based upon the doctrine that the

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment . . . Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind . . . We might as well require a man to wear a coat that fitted him as a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regime of their ancestors." — Thomas Jefferson.

district was an instrument of the state and thereby enjoyed its advantages?

"State Action" Doctrine

The private school idea was rejected by the Court because it fell on the issue of "state action." The court answered in the affirmative the question of whether the operation of the private schools under the "tuition grant" plan involved state action so as to prohibit exclusion of Negroes by the schools thus established.

The doctrine of "state action" applied since it refers to exertions of power by the state in all forms. The court stated it was their obligation to enforce the commands of the Constitution when the effect of state power was to deny rights subject to protection. The court found that the problem was one of measuring the degree of the existence of (1) active exertion of state power to help the private school execute its purpose, (2) the discharge of a function of government by the private group, or (3) discrimination by such a group in its use of a privilege granted only to it by the state.

The state of Georgia did several things which made the exclusion of Negroes in private schools illegal. First of all, the state allowed private persons to invoke the power of the courts to secure compliance with a project that required discrimination. Second, the state used its power to help private persons enforce a plan whereby Negroes were excluded from schools to which they had a right to attend. Last, the state of Georgia used its power to encourage discrimination among its citizens.

State action was involved because the private school had been granted unusual authority by the state to fulfill a critical function. It was treated differently from other private groups. It had depended upon such privileges to accomplish its function. The court had translated the private school cases into a general doctrine of constitutional law. It was that the more a private group owes its very life to the state, the more likely is it that such a group must observe the limitations of the Constitution in carrying on the very business for which the organization exists.

Non-Complying Officials

Appellants in both the 1958 and 1961 cases had admitted violating their oaths of office. Some believed they were actually defying anyone "to do something about it." There was little doubt that more resistance to the court decrees would develop. But school authorities could be enjoined from operating schools which denied admission to qualified persons. All school officials who would not comply with the law regarding admittance of Negro pupils to state supported schools were subject to imprisonment on charges of contempt of court.

A Pro-Southerner Resigns . . .

Harry William Pyle, founder and chairman of the Pro-Southerners, militant pro-segregation organization, has resigned from the group saying he was "fearful" of where the organization's new approach to segregation might lead.

In his letter of resignation, the former Pro-Southerner said that he spent three years "building up the Pro-Southerners as an educational organization and one that would be able to screen political candidates so as to get men into office who favored segregation. The Pro-Southerners have now taken on a far different approach to the segregation problem. Fearful of what this may lead to, and being unable to get cooperation from the national executive board, I am resigning as national chairman as of this date. I can't see anything we can accomplish. There is dissension in the organization."

Outright and purposeful refusal by such an official to make an effort to comply to the law would subject such person to a damage suit. In some instances, there could be criminal liability. Should a school official refuse to obey a court order for the admission of a Negro pupil to a school, he could be liable for a contempt citation in a federal court. The defendant could procure a bond but could not prevent a contempt charge. The state of Georgia cannot set procedures for federal courts. The right to attend public schools regardless of color would be federal in origin. No state could deprive one of his opportunity to satisfy that federal right.

The "Long Haul"

The number in Georgia who were glad that the "private" school was on the way out was indeed large. More and more one could hear that tendencies toward divisiveness would have been accentuated dangerously had Georgia continued with no public schools which would now ask only that residence of the moment be established. No society ever suffered from an excess of intelligence and understanding.

Over the long haul, the obstructionist would fight a losing battle. Court decisions would need interpretation again and again, for the fundamental law could not be static. One of the luxuries we have long indulged in has been permitting some of our citizens "to demonstrate publicly the inappropriateness of their ideas and of their behavior."

The teacher of school administration could look forward to resting more easily because he now saw that determination of educational policy would again be lodged in those who would be qualified to exercise sound judgment in school affairs. His way of life, along with that of all Georgians, would once again continue to make gains. In towns over the state the pupils and teachers and parents and the administrators would chalk up these gains because all were again free from the atmosphere of repression, suspicion, and fear.

Department of Diehard Resistance

"We're Different" Division

As reported in the Mississippi Press

Opening of jury service to women would mean racial integration on juries and an increased tax burden at a critical time, a Jackson women's leader told the state Senate judiciary committee today.

Blasting the women's jury service proposal as the "will of the few," Mrs. Roger L. Lewis said passage of the measure would put Mississippi a step closer to desegregation.

"We don't want to mix the races on juries at this time," declared Mrs. Lewis, wife of a Jackson dentist who said she represented eight organizations.

"Mr. Brownell (U. S. Attorney Gen. Herbert Brownell) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would have us mix the juries now."

The witness said provision of separate facilities for male and female, white and Negro, "would cost the state a tremendous amount of money which we don't have at this time."

Many white women are refusing to pay their poll taxes for fear it will make them liable for jury service, Mrs. Lewis asserted.

"On the other hand, I understand that here in Hinds county Negroes, particularly Negro women, are paying their poll taxes in large numbers," she testified . . .

"Most women are not in favor of the bill to make them eligible for jury service," Mrs. Lewis said. "It's just a few in a few organizations that want it enacted."

The measure has been endorsed by the Business and Professional Women's Club and by members of the League of Women Voters.

But Mrs. Lewis told a reporter "only a few in these organizations want the jury bill passed."

The witness also objected to provisions of the bill which exempt "all but waitresses, secretaries, beauty parlor operators and a few others."

Because so many exemptions are made, she said enactment of the bill would foist jury service "on just a few women and would be unfair."

Her main fire, however, was directed at the possibility Negro women would win jury service.

"You see what the NAACP has done with Autherine Lucy (at the University of Alabama), and they'll try to do the same with jury service in Mississippi if this bill is passed," Mrs. Lewis said.

A resident of 4040 N. State, Mrs. Lewis declared her only interest "is good government."

"The men are supposed to take care of juries, not women," she said. "They say women are allowed to serve on juries in other states. But we of the South and Mississippi are different from people elsewhere. We shouldn't care what they do . . . "

By TILMAN C. COTHRAN

Integration and Educational Standards

The wisdom of the Supreme Court Decision on segregated education has been acclaimed and lambasted with varying degrees of emotional involvement and intellectual acumen. Many people who accept the Decision as being within the framework of constitutional law and as being consistent with our democratic and religious principles possess an unfounded but very real apprehension that ultimate integration will mean a lower quality of education for the Southern white child. The fear has been most recently articulated as one of the points in Waring's article appearing in the January 1956 issue of *Harper's* magazine.

It is understandable that such a fear plagues large groups of people who are willing to accept the law of the land; for it is like many other fears which inevitably spring up when people are faced with the necessity for taking courses of action which are foreign to their customary attitudes and beliefs.

The feeling that integration *per se* vitiates the quality of education for the white child has been expressed further through the recent intensified interest in comparative test scores for Negro and white children. Examples of such studies are the Washington, D. C., study reported in *U. S. News and World Report*, June 10, 1955, and Dallas Survey reported in *Southern School News* for December 1955. The findings of these tests indicate differential levels for the two groups. This fact is consistent with most of our expectations. Actually, the educational gap between Negro and white children is not as great as these test results might seem to imply. Even with the most rigid system of controls, test data alone constitute an unreliable measure of educational achievement. The scores are usually stated in terms of group averages without any indication of group ranges or the extent of variance. The test findings, if assumed to be valid, would seem to suggest that a minority of Negro students are capable of competing with white students without disturbing the educational level.

For the majority of Negro students, however, is the divergence in Negro-white test scores the result of statistically measurable factors, or are there other factors involved of a more subtle character which have not been rigidly controlled? How similar were the conditions under which Negro and white students took the tests? Did a Negro or white tester administer the tests? To

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"We believe that this country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in . . . Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all." — Theodore Roosevelt.

what extent have either the Negro or white pupils had experience in the techniques of taking such tests? What is the respective group attitude or group motivation with regard to making a good showing on the tests? In other words, for the masses of Negro and white students, are the various standardized tests efficient in the measurement of inter-group differences, except in those instances where heterogeneity is the result of a limited number of rigorously controlled factors?

This is not to be construed in any manner as an effort to contend that the quality of education for the Negro child is equal to that of the white child. But rather, it is an expression of doubt with respect to whether or not the test data alone have adequately described the differences.

The history of integration in education elsewhere in the United States has some relevance for this discussion. One would hardly argue that integrated education in the North has lowered the educational standards achieved by white children in this area. This is not to imply that there are no differentials in the test scores for Northern Negro and white children. Socio-economic factors as they relate to the two racial groups exert an influence on educational achievement and motivation in the North, and will have the same or similar effect in the South for some time to come. But it is significant to observe that white children, educated in the integrated pattern of the North, to speak moderately, do not suffer in comparison with white children from segregated schools.

It has been argued that Negroes with superior intelligence are the ones most likely to leave the South, and that the educational achievement of Negro children in Northern schools is a result of the character of Negro migrations to the North. However, the studies of Klienberg, Lapidus, Yates, and Marks fail to support the selective migration hypothesis. In fact, these research studies found that in general, test results of Negro children improved in proportion to the length of time which the children lived in the Northern environment.

When we appraise the Northern educational experience, it becomes apparent that the crucial question is not whether integration will lower the educational level of the white child, but rather, how much time will be required for Negro children to reduce test differences to negligible proportions? More will be said on this question later.

Other Fields

The apprehension that integration will exercise a debilitating influence on existing standards has rarely materialized in other areas of American experience. In industry, the upgrading and integration of Negroes into all phases of production has not reduced production efficiency. In professional sports, the introduction of Negro personnel has not lowered the standards of performance in baseball, basketball, football, and other areas of athletic competition where the Negro's advent on

the scene is relatively recent. In military services, there was fear that integration would lower the combat efficency of military units. However, the Army's study on manpower utilization by Hausrath and others contained the conclusion that integration actually raised the level of operating efficiency.

Raise

Thus, experience with integration in other areas would seem to suggest that integration, when tried, tends to raise the level of performance rather than to lower it. Since the areas mentioned above require some measure of training and education, is it not possible that the level of education for all children in the South, Negro and white, can be immeasurably improved as a result of desegregation and ultimate integration?

The fact that school money can be used more efficiently in the operation of a single school system vis-a-vis a dual system should be a concrete contribution to better education for all of our children. This fact is markedly so in those areas where either the Negro or white school population is relatively small. For example, there are schools in sections of Arkansas that are being supported for fewer than 100 Negro students. Implicit in this statement is the notion that the removal of duplicated overhead costs and services would mean significant savings in school operational costs.

There also would be a more efficient use of existing school facilities. For instance, no longer would it be necessary to duplicate the offering of many elective courses in both Negro and white schools, when the number of students interested in such courses is very small. This does not mean that the quality and quantity of physical facilities alone determine the quality of education. However, it cannot be denied that the level of efficiency inherent in the physical facilities available is positively correlated with the quality of education possible.

The integration of teachers in terms of teaching competence should improve the level of instruction for the students. Experience in the character of acceptance of Negro teachers by white pupils has been gratifying in St. Louis, in Indiana, and in other localities. If a Negro teacher is not competent to teach white children, then that same teacher is not competent to teach Negro children.

At the heart of the belief that integration will lower the level of education for the white child is the feeling that Negro retardation will affect adversely the comprehensiveness of instruction. However, integration should introduce an element of competition between the Negro and white child for the overt rewards of education, which would narrow the test gap at a faster rate than is possibly imagined. This competition should work both ways, thereby improving the level of education.

Unafraid

As adumbrated earlier, the problem of integration and its concomitant effects on the education of "one generation of white children" oversimplifies the issue. Indeed, the most tremendous integrative adjustment must be made by Negro school children of one generation. But Negroes, generally, are not afraid of the demands of integration, in spite of undesirable test scores. They feel that a short period of adjustment — from one to two semesters — with special emphasis on weaknesses in communications and study habits would suffice for the majority of Negro

students. Educational authorities say that from three to five reading levels may be found in a single class, and reading clinics often raise reading levels, in a semester or less, three to five grade levels. Since modern methods of instruction do make allowance for the varying learning-levels of students in a particular class, these methods can be employed effectively during the period of transition.

It is quite possible that we need to worry less about what will happen with respect to the quality of education for the children in integrated schools and become more concerned about the influence of parental, administrative, and teacher attitudes. It may not be amiss to assume that negative parental attitudes, both conscious and unconscious, will adversely affect the white child more than the actual experience of integrated education.

Likewise, administrative attitudes are important to the effective initiation and functioning of integration; for administrative attitudes soon become reflected in the attitudes and behavior of both teachers and pupils.

And finally, the white teacher's attitudes and relationships with the Negro child will influence not only the white child's attitudes but, more importantly for the success of integration, the attitudes and motivation of the Negro child. The white teacher might need to be oriented to the fact that individual differences among Negroes are far more significant than any imputed racial differences.

When we come to realize that the level of motivation and ability to learn are equally as important, if not more so, as test achievement, then the fear that integration will downgrade the white child's education loses much of its potency.

Business Leaders

(Continued from Page 3)

other city.

I use the word solution because of the lack of a better word in my vocabulary. There is really *no* solution, but there has to be a BEST WAY to do everything.

The time to decide upon that BEST WAY is not when incidents occur which will impair the best thinking of our community leaders. It is now, *before*, your city and mine feel the full impact of that which promises to lie ahead. I can't help but believe that there are men of both races in every community who are men of reason and who abhor that which has resulted from the Supreme Court's decision on the integration of schools. But if they are reluctant to speak out then we must accept that which follows without protest.

Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements — these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location, each to varying degrees.

Do you not agree, then, that the economics involved require that these are matters worthy of consideration by our boards of directors? Are we to look upon this serious situation believing that it will disappear if only we pay it no heed? Or are we going to: first, admit that an economic threat exists, and second, face up to the problem, using the best brains our community affords.

That to me, in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-six is the place of the Chamber of Commerce in Education.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"With the national complexion of the boycott (in Montgomery, Alabama), it looks like the thing is here with us like the itch. It may be the fast itch that you can scratch away or the seven-year type that you have to leave alone until it finally goes away. It looks more like the latter. Only time will tell." — Joe Azbell in the *Montgomery Advertiser*.

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"We are dealing with (segregation) questions that defy emotionalism and that we ought to take to God. All persons have a right to disagree but they have no right not to approach the problem in a Christian spirit." — Governor Frank Clement of Tennessee.

"This region (the South) has a vital stake in a growing and expanding economic policy and in a liberal international policy which recognizes that this nation is part of the world." — Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

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"The legislature cannot nullify a decision of the United States government. It's got to be done by you. Then it's an act of secession, and I know the people of Alabama are not ready for it. Nullification means riotousness, lawlessness, disobedience. If it's done by the legislature, it means an act of civil disobedience. They all took the same oath to support the Constitution that I did. I ain't gonna say I'm gonna like it but I'm not gonna try to disobey it. We can't have government by lawlessness." — Governor James Folsom of Alabama as quoted in *The Reporter*.

"It is commonly understood in terms of the Bible teaching that all men are created in the image of God and intended to be brothers. If you consider this an impracticable doctrine, then you may very well have to surrender your Christian faith. The Church has little else to offer.

"Why not pass up the mass meetings and allow for more thought and prayer over your role as a Christian in the (segregation) matter." — The Reverend Hugh McKee, rector of St. Martin's Episcopal Church, New Orleans, Louisiana.

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"I simply do not believe that the senators and the candidates for governor who are now campaigning so actively against integration speak for the majority of the people in Dade County (Florida). I think we have a great many responsible people of good will who want to see racial inequalities ended here." — Abe Aronovitz, former mayor of Miami.

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"The phrase civil rights means a number of concrete things. It means the right to be treated equally before the law. It means the right to equal opportunity for education, employment and decent living conditions. It means that none of these rights shall be denied because of race or color or creed. The history of freedom in our country has been the history of knocking down the barriers to equal rights." — Adlai E. Stevenson.